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MAHMUD'S AYAZ IN HISTORY

S. Jabir Raza

Sultan Mahmud's love and affection for his slave Ayaz has been a popular theme in Persian literary composition in prose as well as poetry. Ayaz appears as symbolic figure under many guises. In Sa'di's *Gulistan* (comp. 1258 A.D.) and *Bostan* (com. 1257 A.D.) appears as a symbol of true love,¹ while in the *masnavi* of Jalaluddin Rumi he figures as a type of perfect man with firm ethical values.² Fariduddin Attar (1119-1230 AD) and historian Awfi highlight Ayaz as a model of loyalty and sagacity.³ But Nizami Aruzi hinted the worldly love of Mahmud with Ayaz and records an anecdote about the cutting off of Ayaz's curly locks in a fit of passion by Mahmud.⁴ Among the later literati, the poet Zulali wrote a long *masnavi* in 1614 AD entitled *Mahmud-wa-Ayaz* in which he has woven a romance around the relationship of Sultan Mahmud and Ayaz.⁵ Such perceptions of the Mahmud-Ayaz relationship are, however absent in the writings of contemporary Ghaznavid historians, Gardezi and Baihaqi, and court poet Farrukhi, all of whom mention Ayaz as a close associate (*nadim-i-Khass*), the noble (*amir*) and commander (*salar*) of Sultan Mahmud and his immediate successor.

Besides Ayaz with whom we are concerned, there have been other nobles of this name or surname. Nearly contemporary to Ayaz of Mahmud was a Seljuqid noble Ayaz, who died in 1105 AD.⁶ In Delhi Sultanate, two families with the surname Ayaz held the highest posts of governor and Wazir. A shamsi slave noble Malik Izzuddin kabir Khan Ayaz became the governor of Multan but later declared himself an independent ruler, dying in 1241-42 AD. His son and successor Tajuddin Abu Bakr Ayaz brought the whole of Sind under his control. But with his early demise, the short lived Ayazi dynasty of Sind disappeared.⁷ The elder of the second Ayazi family was Alauddin Ayaz who was entrusted with the kotwalship of Siri by Alauddin Khalji. His son Ahmad Ayaz was also inducted in the Khalji nobility, who after the defeat of Khusrau Khan paid homage to Tughlaq and brought the keys of Siri on behalf of his father. Later he rose to the position of Wazir under Muhammad bin Tughlaq and renowned as Khwaja-i-Jahan Ahmad Ayaz.⁸ These names suggest that Ayaz was considered a suitable name or title for professedly loyal officials, and so suggests that a positive tradition existed in courtly circles about the slave Ayaz, who rose to the position of a noble under Sultan Mahmud. This study of an individual noble can also provide us with insights into the composition of the Ghaznavid nobility as well as its functioning.

Amir Abu'n Najm Ayaz Aimaq or Awimaq was a Turk of humble origin with a rural background.¹⁰ The later tradition would have us to believe that Ayaz was bought by Sultan Mahmud in Ghaznin,¹¹ who gave him the Turkish name Ayaz¹² (= Ayas)¹³ meaning 'frost'.¹⁴ The Arabic 'Abu'n Najm' was his *kunya* or patronym, again most probably, given by the Sultan as a character-name or sobriquet. Aimaq or Awimaq is the name of a tribe or clan name.¹⁵ Ayaz was probably a Turkoman slave of Aimaq tribe and was possibly born at Khutan, since Firishta refers his origin of Khutan (Khutni'ul-Asl).¹⁶ It is worth noting that Baihaqi calls him by his name and (*Kunya*, Abun Najm Ayaz,¹⁷ while the court poet Farrukhi adds his clan name Awimaq.¹⁸ Gardezi refers to him as Abun Najm Ayaz b. Aimaq, so that Aimaq was his patronym;¹⁹ and in this he has been followed by most later historians.²⁰

We do not find any direct reference to his early career and education in the contemporary chronicles; and his date of birth is unknown. Farrukhi in his Qasida, written in 1031 AD, used the terms *Sarv* (an evergreen cypress tree) and *gul-i-taza* (young flower) for Ayaz.²¹ By these terms, one may assume that by that time (1031) Ayaz was quite young.²² When Sultan Mahmud met Qadir Khan in 1008, he received a handsome slave Naushtigin Naubati, whom Sultan included in his personal slaves. Baihaqi informs that at the time Naushtigin was a boy (*kudak*), and to keep him away from Ayaz, the sultan send him to Poshang.²³ If in 1008, Naushtigin was a boy of at least eight years old then by the time Ayaz must have been a little older. Thus, his birth may be placed in 998 AD., and he must have been acquired by Mahmud before 1008.

It was the custom that the ruler who bought a slave, had him trained under the guidance of accomplished man. For instance Tughril, a Turkestani slave of fair complexion with high degree of elegance (*zaraafat*) and intelligence (*labaqat*) was selected by the sultan to be his personal cup-bearer (*saqi*) and was handed over to Ayaz, who was then the chief of the eight imperial cup-bearers, for training and education.²⁴ It is thus possible that Ayaz too received his education and training from some experienced officers, to be well versed in court etiquette.

Ayaz as a slave was expected to devote his life to the service of Sultan Mahmud. We find references to the personal services rendered by him to the Sultan.²⁵ Endowed with intelligence,²⁶ good physique and pleasing looks,²⁷ Ayaz did not find it difficult to become a favourite of the Sultan. His loyalty and devotion to his master certainly raised him high in the estimation of the Sultan.²⁸ He never absented himself from the sight of the Sultan and always accompanied him to all the places

outside the capital as *nadim-i-Khass*.²⁹ The Sultan seems to have showered upon him favour after favour and ultimately he was raised to the position of the chief of slaves in the royal establishment, with the title *Ayaz-i-Khass*.³⁰

Apart from being a devoted slave, Ayaz was a skilled warrior, reputed horseman and a master archer. He ever showed his skill in polo (*chaugan*).³¹ Farrukhi, while describing his war like accomplishments alludes to his skill in archery. According to him, Ayaz was a perfect marksman and could pierce even a stone with an arrow.³² Abul Farj Runi, a poet of Ghaznavid Panjab, also praising him as an archer.³³ Fakhr-i-Mudabbir alludes to a remarkable feat of archery by Ayaz as the commander of the Ghaznavid forces during one of the campaigns in India, of shooting from the bow. During the battle he shot an arrow straight at the *Aina-i-Chini*.³⁴ (the protective mirror on the forehead of an elephant), which broke into pieces. With the very next arrow he shot into the eye of the elephant, which led to the defeat of the enemy.³⁵

Ayaz was promoted to the position of a noble (*amir*) by Sultan Mahmud and later appointed as Salar (commander) by Sultan Masud.³⁶ Sultan Masud assigned him the revenues (*kharaj*) of Bust, Mukran and Qusdar³⁷ in lieu of his services rendered during the succession crisis after Mahmud's death. It is said that Sultan Mahmud had granted him an area extending to 12,000(!) farsangs in India.³⁸ But the absence of any reference to his posting outside the capital during Mahmud's time suggests that he had the territory administered through a deputy. He lived a luxurious life by maintaining *hammam* of hot water (*garmabah*).³⁹ Matrimonial relations also enhanced his position among the nobles, as one of his sisters was married to Sultan Mahmud⁴⁰ while another was, probably, the wife of Mahmud's Wazir, Hasnak. Baihaqi informs us that after the execution of Hasnak, one of his close friends Mikail took the sister of Ayaz for his wife.⁴¹ His association with the management of imperial festivities made Ayaz a close friend of court poets Farrukhi, Ghazairi and Firdausi; the former two even wrote *qasidas* in his praise.⁴²

After the death of Sultan Mahmud, he could wield much influence at the court during the close of his master's reign and he was one among other nobles who supported Amir Muhammad in ascending the throne.⁴³ But sensing the broader support to Amir Masud, Ayaz was the first among the Mahmudi nobles who defied the authority of Sultan Muhammad in favour of Amir Masud, and thus helped the latter in obtaining the throne in 1031 AD. Gardezi says informs that about fifty days after the death of Mahmud, Amir Ayaz in league with Abul Hasan

Ali b. Abdullah, known as Ali Daya, decided to support prince Masud for the throne. He won over the royal slaves (*Ghulamân-i-Saray*) along with the household troops to his side and then entered the royal stables in broad daylight, mounted the best horses and rode off towards Bust. Informed of this situation, Sultan Muhammad dispatched Saundhrâi, an Indian commander, with a large contingent of Indian troops in his pursuit. Amir Ayaz emerged victorious in the battle and put to death Saundhrâi and sent his severed head to Amir Muhammad. Ayaz and Ali Daya with a number of slaves then joined Amir Masud at Nishapur.⁴⁴

Since Ayaz had played a key role in the succession crisis, Masud showered great favours upon Ayaz. His prestige and position increased greatly as *salar* during the days of Sultan Masud. In view of his lack of experience of life outside the court, being his father's sneeze (*'atsa-i-pidar*), Sultan Masud considered him unsuitable for the governorship of Ray.⁴⁵ However, when Sultan Masud appointed his son Amir Majdud as the governor of Panjab, Ayaz was sent to Lahore as his advisor (*Atabek*).⁴⁶ Since Amir Majdud was of tender age, Ayaz exercised full powers civil and military, as deputy governor. But he was looked upon more as a governor than an advisor, as the terms *marzabân* and *qahrman* used for Ayaz by Abul Farj Runi indicate.⁴⁷ During this period, Punjab remained peaceful and Lahore developed into an important city. Later traditions suggest that it was fortified at this time under the fostering care of Ayaz who built a new city and fort of solid masonry work.⁴⁸

After the tragic end of Sultan Masud at Marigala (1041 AD), there was a struggle among the Ghaznavid princes. The upheaval in Ghaznin had its adverse impact on Panjab and other parts of India. The rulers of India took advantage of the turmoil and by mutual agreement seized Hansi and Thanesar and. When Sultan Maudud b. Masud ascended the throne (1041 AD), his brother Majdud b. Masud, the then governor of Panjab, refused to recognize his sovereignty. He revolted in Multan and Lahore at the instigation of his advisor Ayaz. Majdud then occupied all the country east of Indus and recaptured Hansi and Thanesar.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, Sultan Maudud marched towards the Indian territory and reached Panjab. To check the advance of Maudud's troops, Majdud along with Ayaz marched from Hansi where he was then encamped for a campaign to capture Delhi. The troops and noblemen at Lahore were deeply loyal to Majdud, thus the Indian army strongly resisted the Ghaznin based troops of Maudud on 4th Aug, 1041 AD. The victory of Majdud was imminent, but strangely on the morning of Idul Adha Amir Majdud was found dead in mysterious circumstances in his tent.⁵⁰ Thus, the Ghaznavid Panjab passed in the hands of Maudud.

After the death of Majdud, Ayaz did not feature in the Ghaznavid politics and retired from the court. Most probably Ayaz then lived a simple and religious life at Lahore where he died in 1058 AD.⁵¹ His grave still survives in the vicinity of Rang Mahal at Lahore. The tomb, made up of brick and mortar, is situated on a platform, 9ft. 10 inches by 7ft. 6 inches. The entrance door leads to a small courtyard. It is said that earlier a large garden was attached to this tomb, which has now disappeared.⁵² The later inscription of his grave reads: 'Hazrat Pir Ayaz, Sipahsalar-i-Sultan Mahmud'. This must be a late inscription, and its perception of Ayaz as a pious saint (*pir*) is yet another addition to the various traditional pictures of Ayaz.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Shaikh Sharfuddin Sadi, *Gulistan*, ed. Qazi Sajjad Hussain, Delhi, p. 146; *Idem-Bostan*, ed. Qazi Sajjad Hussain, Delhi, pp. 125-26.
2. Jalaluddin Muhammad Rumi, *Masnavi*, ed. Reynold A. Nicholson, London 1929, vol. III, pp. 118, 122, 130-35.
3. Fariduddin Attar Nishapuri- *Mantiq-ul-Tair*, ed. Muhammad Jawwad Mashkur, Tehran 1958, pp. 215-16, 267-68; *idem, Ilahi Nama in Kulliyat-i-Attar*, Nawal Kishore edition, p. 832; Sadiduddin Muhammad Awfi, *Jawamiul Hikayat Wa Lawamiur Riwayat*, Ms. No. 726, Khuda Bakhs Library, Patna, f. 459a.
4. Nizami Aruzi Samarqandi, *Chahar Maqala*, ed. Muhammad Qazwini, Leiden 1327, revised by Muhammad Moin, Tehran 1333 Shamsi, pp. 55-57.
5. Zulali Khwansari, *Mahmud-wa-Ayaz*, Nawal Kishore edition. The *Masnavi* consisted of 4665 verses in which Zulali would have us to believe that Ayaz was the son of a Muslim king of Kashmir.
6. Ibn ul Athir, *Al-Kamil Fit-Tarikh*, Beirut edition 1966, vol. X, pp. 199-201.
7. Minhaj-i-Siraj Juzjani, *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, ed. Abul Hayy Habibi, Kabul 1963-64, Vol. II, pp. 5, 7, 20 Cf. *A comprehensive History of India*, vol. V, ed. Habib and Nizami, New Delhi, 2nd edition 1992, pp. 228, 240, 247-49.
8. Ziauddin Barami, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, ed. Sir Syed Ahmad, Sir Syed Academy Aligarh, 2005, pp. 278, 454 etc.
9. *Chahar Maqala*, p. 55; Hamdullah Mustaufi, *Zafar Nama*, Ms. Br. Mus. Or. 2833, f. 285b; Kamaluddin Hussain b. Shahabuddin Harawi, *Majalis ul-Ushshaq* Nawal Kishore edition, 1897, p. 212; Anonymous- *Majmaul-Ansab*, in Sayyid Nafisi, *Dar Pairamun Tarikh Baihaqi* (DPB), Tehran 1342, vol. I, p. 63.
10. Jalaluddin Rami, pp. 118, 122, 130-36 and 213, narrates a long story to the effect that being a favourite of Sultan Mahmud, Ayaz was envied by the courtiers. Once Khwaja Tashun informed the Sultan that it has been observed that Ayaz goes privately into his locked chamber which indicates that he had hoarded many valuables. After seeking the Sultan's permission, the Khwaja along with his men entered into the locked chamber in the midnight and found only a suit of old dirty garment (postin) and footwear (charuq). Being astonished the Khwaja reported the matter to the Sultan, who in turn asked Ayaz about his conduct. Ayaz, thus, replied that 'when I first became your majesty's servant, this was my dress. Now by the grace of God and your Majesty's favour, I have been elevated to the rank of noble. I, therefore, daily practise this humiliation by putting on these old garments to remind me of my former 'insignificance'. Rami's term Charuq (= charugh) meaning a footwear of the villagers (dahqanan), attests the rural background of Ayaz. Cf. Muhammad Husain b. Khalaf Tabrezi, *Burhan-Qatt'*, ed. Muhammad Moin, Tehran 1331 Shamsi; vol. II, p. 611.
11. *Majalis ul-Ushshaq*, p. 212; Hamdullah Mustaufi, f. 285b. Both the authors mention that once the traders came with hundred and twenty Turkish slaves, one of them was Ayaz who was, by the time, ill and weak. The Sultan ordered that all the slaves be purchased except Ayaz. Dejected Ayaz left place in tears. Then Sultan called him back and said that I have purchased the hundred and nineteen slaves for my own sake, but purchasing the last one (Ayaz) for the sake of God.
12. Hamdullah Mustaufi, f. 285b. It was the general custom that the Turkish slaves received their names sometime between their purchase by the slave merchants and their being handed over to their patron. The master could also give a name to his slave. Cf. S. Jobir Raza, *Nomenclature and Titulature of the early Turkish Sultans of Delhi found in Numismatic Legends International Colloquium*, Medieval India Coinages: A Historical and Economic Perspective, Nasik, 2001, p. 88.
13. Muhammad Padshah 'Shaad', *Farhang Anand Raj*, ed. Muhammad Dabir Sayaqi, Tehran 1335 Khurshidi; vol. I, pp. 116, 512, for the suggestion that the term Ayas is synonymous with Ayaz. Fariduddin Attar variously refers to Ayaz as Ayas. Cf. *Mantiq ul-Tair*, pp. 77, 216; *Ilahi Nama*, p. 842.
14. H.C. Hony, *A Turkish-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1947, p. 24.
15. *Farhang Anand Raj*, vol. I, pp. 503, 527.
16. Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Firishta, *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, known as *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Nawal Kishore edition, n.d. vol. I, p. 39. According to Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Engl. tr. E. Denison Ross, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, New Delhi, vol. II, p. 301, the people of Khotan were divided into four classes. Out of them the third was called Aimâq who collect revenues from the peasants. Thus, it is more likely that Ayaz who belonged to Aimâq tribe was born in a village of Khotan province.
17. Abul Fazl Muhammad b. Husain Baihaqi, *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, ed. Ali Akbar Fayyaz, revised by Mohammad Jafar Yahaghi, Mashhad 1383, p. 104.
18. Hakim Farrukhi Seistani, *Diwan*, ed. Muhammad Dabir Sayaqi, Tehran, 1335 Khurshidi, pp. 161, 162. Followed by Raza Quli Khan Hidayat, *Majmaul-Fusaha*, ed. Mazahir Musaffa, Tehran 1339, vol. II, p. 951.
19. Abul Hayy b. Abdul Zahhak, *Zaimul-Akbar*, ed. Abul Hayy Habibi, Iran 1347, p. 195. Habibi in his note, p. 195n1, remarks that although Aimâq is the name of a tribe, which inhabited the regions of Ghur and Heart, Gardezi refers to it as the name of Ayaz's father.
20. Ibn ul-Asir, vol. IX, p. 638. While Firishta, vol. I, p. 40 refers to him as Abun Najm Ayaz b. Ishaq.
21. Farrukhi, p. 162.
22. See, *Maqalat-i-Hafiz Mahmud Sherani* (Urdu), ed. Mazhar Ahmad Sherani, Lahore 1968, vol. V, p. 141. Also Nazir Ahmad, *Urdu aur Farsi ki ek ahm Tarikhi Talaveeh, Ayaz* (Urdu), Ghalib Nama, vol. V, Delhi 1984, p. 58.
23. *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, ed. Ali Akbar Fayyaz, p. 388. When Muhammad ascended the throne he called Naushitigin back to Ghaznin and attached him to the imperial household as quality taster (chashnigir) and cup-bearer (saqigari). Later on Sultan Masud raised his position and appointed him the governor of Guzgan or Juzjanan.

24. Ibid, p. 260.
25. *Ilaht Nama*, p. 832. It tells us that Ayaz often used to shampoo the Sultan's legs. Also Majd Khwafi, *Rauza-i-Khuld*, ed. Hussain Khadivjam, Tehran 1345, p. 138.
26. Rumi in his *Masnavi's*, vol. III, pp. 293-95, relates that once a group of his rivals enquired the Sultan the cause of bestowing much favours on Ayaz that his income equals to that of three nobles. The next day the Sultan arranged a hunting excursion in which only high nobles were included. At one place, the Sultan stood and watched the approach of a caravan. Then Sultan ordered an *amir* to enquire from where they are coming? He returned with information that the caravan was coming from Ethiopia. Then Sultan sent another noble to enquire their destination, which he enquired and informed him that they intend to visit Herat. The Sultan then ordered the third noble to enquire about the merchandise being carried by the caravan. He came back and reported its character to the Sultan. Now Sultan desired that the Ayaz should go. Ayaz made enquiries from the caravan chief (*sahib-i-karavan*) and after obtaining all information, favourable or unfavourable, their numbers, their merchandise, their profit and loss, reported in detail to the Sultan. Thus, the Sultan boasted that he showed great favours on Ayaz because of his efficiency and intelligence.
27. *Gulistan*, p. 146; *Bostan*, p. 125; *Chahar Maqala*, p. 55. Shaikh Sadi and Nizami Aruzi both remark that Ayaz was not remarkably handsome (*zyadat husni nadarad*), but was of sweet expression and olive complexion, symmetrical physique, graceful in his movements, sensible and deliberate in action, and mightily endowed with all the arts of pleasing.
28. Shaikh Sadi and Awfi both record the high estimation of Ayaz in the eyes of Sultan Mahmud on account of his loyalty and devotion. Shaikh Sadi, *Bostan*, pp. 125-26, informs us that once the imperial camel fell down in a narrow ditch which caused the breakage of a box of pearls. After ordering the scattered pearls, to be given away to those who collected them, the Sultan proceeded. Since all were engaged in collecting the pearls, no one among the horsemen and approved slaves (*wishagan*) was left with the Sultan except Ayaz, who remained loyally with him. Likewise Awfi records that once in a hunting excursion the news of the fabulous bird *Humay*, whose shadow is supposed to bring good luck, had been spread. All the Turkish guards went running after the shadow of this bird, but Ayaz was content with the shadow of Sultan Mahmud. Cf. Awfi; f. 450a.
29. *Mantiqut-t-Tair*, pp. 215-16, 267-68; *Ilaht Nama*, p. 842; Rumi, op. cit, pp. 257-58, 260. Attar reports an unsuccessful attempt of Mahmud to check the sagacity of the saint Shaikh Abul Hasan Kharqani, when he passed off Ayaz as Sultan in imperial dress before the saint and he himself accompanied him as slave. Cf. *Tazkirat ul-Auliya*, ed. Muhammad Istelami, Tehran 1346, pp. 668-69.
30. *Mantiqut-t-Tair*, pp. 215, 268; Also, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, vol. I, p. 42, 44.
31. Farrukhi; p. 162.
32. *Mantiqut-t-Tair*, p. 239; *Majalis ul- Ushshaq*, p. 215.
33. Abul Farj Runi, *Diwan*, ed. Muhammad Damghani, Mashhad, 1968, p. 116.
34. In view of Elliot, it was probably made of varnished steel and was used as a protection over the most vulnerable part of the elephant. *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. II, Aligarh 1952, p. 235n1.
35. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, *Adabul-Harb Wash Shuja 'at*, ed. Ahmad Suhail Khwansari, Tehran, 1967, pp. 247-48.
36. Farrukhi, p. 162; *Tarikh-i-Bathaqi*, ed. Ghani and Fayyaz, Tehran, 1945, p. 264.

37. Farrukhi, p. 162.
38. *Majmaul Ansab*, text in DPB, vol. I, p. 67.
39. *Ilaht Nama*, in *Kulliyat-i-Attar*, p. 351.
40. Awfi, ff. 297a-b, records Mahmud's hesitation in marrying the sister of his favourite Ayaz, and the arguments advanced by his *Dabir* Abu Nasr Mishkeni in favour of the marriage of a ruler with his subject on the basis of the historical accounts of the choices of Qubad and Bahram Gur.
41. *Tarikh-i-Bathaqi*, ed. Ali Akbar Fayyaz, p. 197.
42. Raza Quli Khan Hidayat, *Majmaul-Fusaha*, ed. Mazahir Mosaffa, Tehran 1339, vol. I, pp. 921, 1055; vol. II, p. 945.
43. *Tarikh-i-Bathaqi*, ed. Ghani and Gayyaz, p. 1.
44. *Zainul-Akhar*, pp. 194-96. We also find a passing reference of this event Farrukhi's *Qasida*, p. 162; and in *Tarikh-i-Bathaqi*, ed. Ali Akbar Fayyaz, p. 104. See also S. Jabir Raza, *Hindus under the Ghaznavids*, Presented at IHC, Malda Session, 2011.
45. *Tarikh-i-Bathaqi*, ed. Ghani and Fayyaz, pp. 264-65.
46. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, vol. I, p. 42.
47. Abdul Farj Runi, p. 116. In *Farhang Anand Raj*, vol. IV, p. 3303 and vol. VI, p. 3939, it means the governor or independent administrator posted on the borders of a hostile country.
48. Murtaza Husain, *Hadiqat ul-Iqlim*, chapter III, p. 146. Khairullah Fida, *Mirza Sahiban*, Ms. Owned by Ghulam Rasul Nami of Lahore, f. 76.
49. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, I, pp. 42, 44; *Tarikh-i-Aifi*, text in DPB, I, p. 917; Mir Khwand, *Rauza us-Safa*, Tehran 1339, vol. IV, pp. 132-33.
50. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, I, p. 44.
51. *Ibn ul-Attir*, vol. IX, p. 638.
52. Kanahya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Lahore*, 1874, p. 170; *Gazetteer: Lahore District*, 1916, p. 26; S.M. Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural remains and Antiquities*, Lahore, 1892, pp. 225-26.